

UCSB Hist 2c F'09, L18: 21st Century Issues

What factors (forces) drive independence movements?

0. Final Paper due Thu—questions?; online survey
1. Middle East, cont'd: Nationalisms
2. Decolonization & Culture (Anti-Globalization)

Music: Rough Guide to the Music of [Iran](#)

Middle East Timeline [from last lecture]

- 1896: Zionism
... [WW1]
- 1923 “Equilibrium”
... [Palestinian problem]
- WW2: Britain & France=‘smoke & mirrors’
- 1945-48 new situation: Cold War & Israel
- 1950s Arab nationalism
 - Nasser in Egypt
 - Iran

From equilibrium (1923) to chaos (1979)- what happened?

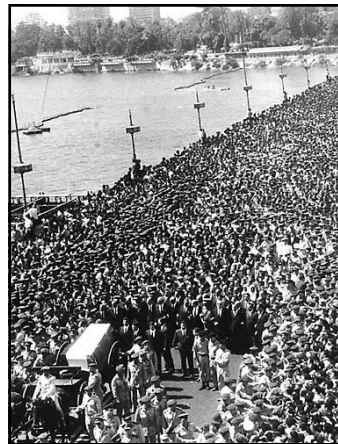
- The interwar period (1918-1939)
 - Imperial order endures, but its foundations start to crack (new nationalism, tensions in Palestine)
- World War II
 - France and Great Britain: empires of smoke and mirrors (France defeated 1940; Britain broke 1945)
- After WW II (1945-1958):
 - New guys on the block: the US, USSR--pursue Cold War by proxy in the Middle East
 - Israel (new name): Arab states back P. in '48, drubbed
 - A new generation of nationalists: “not our kind of people”--lower officers from villages, unsophisticated, no English or French, not conflict-averse, want social justice

Arab Nationalism

- Never-resolved problem:
What is the Arab nation, who is an Arab?
 - Arab nationalism as identity politics rather than a concrete program

Arab Nationalisms, 1

- Who shall lead? The accidental hero: Gamal Nasser (1918-1970)
- Secular Pan-Arabism
 - Suez '56
 - Triumphant year of unity: 1958
 - Things begin to stall: 1961
 - The “setback”: June 1967 War
 - Nasser's death (1970) & its impact



Nasser's funeral Oct. 1, 1970: 5 mio. mourners

"Covering the story for CBS from Cairo, the greatest American broadcaster of the time, Walter Cronkite, was infected by the sense of the occasion, and for a moment he faltered. King Hussein of Jordan sobbed like a baby. Muammar Qaddafi of Libya fainted twice. Arafat shed silent tears while his trembling lips prayed."

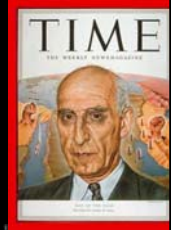
Arab Nationalisms, 2: Iran & Islamic Nationalism

- Modern Iran: Creation of the Safavids (1499-1722)
- 1. Constitutional Revolution (1906-1911)
The emergence of modern nationalism
- 2. Autocracy and the lunge for modernization:
Reza Shah (1925-1941)
- 3. A constitutional interlude (1944-53):
Oil, Mohammed Mossadegh, MI6, & the CIA
- 4. Mohammed Reza Shah (1941/1953-1979):
Crisis of hyper-rapid modernization

The Two Shahs and Mossadegh



- Shah Mohammed Reza (1878-1944):
– 1925: reforms but corruption
- Moham. Mossadegh (1882-1967)
– CIA “blowback”
– *Time* cover story
- Shah Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980):
– 1941/1953-1979



Jan. 1952 *Time* on Mossadegh

- ... Mohammed Mossadegh, Premier of Iran in the year 1951, ... was the Man of the Year. He put Scheherazade in the petroleum business and oiled the wheels of chaos. His acid tears dissolved one of the remaining pillars of a once great empire. In his plaintive, singsong voice he gabbled a defiant challenge that sprang out of a hatred and envy almost incomprehensible to the West.
- There were millions inside and outside of Iran whom Mossadegh symbolized and spoke for, and whose fanatical state of mind he had helped to create. They would rather see their own nations fall apart than continue their present relations with the West. Communism encouraged this state of mind, and stood to profit hugely from it. But Communism did not create it. The split between the West and the non-Communist East was a peril all its own to world order, quite apart from Communism.
- A Matter of Conscience. The West's military strength to resist Communism grew in 1951. But Mossadegh's challenge could not be met by force. For all its power, the West in 1951 failed to cope with a weeping, fainting leader of a helpless country; the West had not yet developed the moral muscle to define its own goals and responsibilities in the Middle East. Until the West did develop that moral muscle, it had no chance with the millions represented by Mossadegh. In Iran, in Egypt, in a dozen other countries, when people asked: "Who are you? What are you doing here?" the West's only answer was an unintelligible mutter. Charles Malik, Lebanon's great delegate to the U.N., put it tersely: "Do you know why there are problems in the Near East? Because the West is not sure of itself." The East would be in turmoil until the West achieved enough moral clarity to construct a just and fruitful policy toward the East.

Mohammed Mossadegh (1882-1967)

- 1897: provincial chief of finance; 1903 declined MP
- 1919: in Ministry of Finance, 1920 resigned
- 1923: MP, opposed Prime Minister Reza Khan (1925: Reza Shah)
- 1928-40: internal emigration, sudden arrest
- 1941: released; Shah replaced by son
- 1944: MP again, opposed APOC/A-I Oil Co.
- 1951: nationalization bill; 90% of vote for Prime Min. British sanctions, took case to UN; *Time*
- 1952: no control of army, resigned, July protests reinstated as Prime Min & Min Defense
- 1953, Aug: "Operation Ajax" by MI6 & CIA



Malik in Foreign Affairs, Jan. 1952



Charles Habib Malik, Leb. Min. For. Affairs, 1956-

"The disturbing rise of fanaticism in the Near East in recent years is a reaction to the thoughtlessness and superficiality of the West...In all this we are really touching on the great present crisis in Western culture. We are saying when that culture mends its own spiritual fences, all will be well with the Near East, and not with the Near East alone. The deep problem of the Near East must await the spiritual recovery of the West. And he does not know the truth who thinks that the West does not have in its own tradition the means and the power wherewith it can once again be true to itself."

Mossadegh on Trial, 1953:

- "Yes, my sin-- my greater sin... and even my greatest sin is that I nationalized Iran's oil industry and discarded the system of political and economic exploitation by the world's greatest empire. ...
- "This at the cost to myself, my family; and at the risk of losing my life, my honor and my property. ...With God's blessing and the will of the people, I fought this savage and dreadful system of international espionage and colonialism. ..."
- "I am well aware that my fate must serve as an example in the future throughout the Middle East in breaking the chains of slavery and servitude to colonial interests."

Iran after Mossadegh

- Mohammed Reza Shah (1941/1953-1979): "Crisis of hyper-rapid modernization"
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989) Shi'ite clergyman

Two Leaders of the Islamic Movement



- Sayyid Qutb of Egypt (1906-1966):
 - Author & diplomat
 - Executed by Nasser



- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989)
 - 1979: Supreme leader (political & religious)
 - the "virtual face of Islam in Western popular culture,"

This Week's Section Readings

1. UN Declaration against Colonialism, 1961
2. Azikiwe (Nigeria), 1949: anti-imperialism
3. Nkrumah (Ghana), 1961: political indep.
4. Mazrui & Tidy, 1984: economic & cultural
5. Gorbachev (Russia), 1987: econ & cultural
6. 2x Global warming: goals/consequences

Gandhi (1869-1948), 1909 pamphlet

Gandhi: India is becoming irreligious. Here I am not thinking of the Hindu, the Mahomedan, or the Zoroastrian religion, but of that religion which underlies all religions. We are turning away from God.

Reader: You have denounced railways, lawyers and doctors. I can see that you will discard all machinery. What, then, is civilisation?

Gandhi: ... The tendency of Indian civilisation is to elevate the moral being, that of the Western civilisation is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behooves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilisation even as a child clings to its mother's breast.

Senghor (1906-2001, Senegal), 1959

"...Stalinism. The 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' which was to be only temporary, becomes the dictatorship of the party and state by perpetuating itself ...

The paradox of socialistic construction of Communist countries--in the Soviet Union at least--is that it increasingly resembles capitalistic construction in the United States, the American way of life, with high salaries, refrigerators, washing machines, and television sets. And it has less art and freedom of thought. Nevertheless, we shall not be won over by a regime of liberal capitalism and free enterprise. We cannot close our eyes to segregation, although the government combats it ...

We stand for a middle course, for a *democratic socialism* which goes so far as to integrate spiritual values, ..."

Nkrumah (1909-1972), 1966 speech

We live in a world of contradictions. These contradictions, somehow, keep the world going. Let me explain what I mean. Ghana is a small but very dynamic independent African state. We are trying to reconstruct our economy and to build a new, free, and equal society.

To do this, we must attain control of our own economic and political destinies. Only thus can we create higher living standards for our people and free them from the legacies and hazards of a colonial past and from the encroachments of neocolonialism.

In such a world we certainly need great friends. The United States is a capitalist country. In fact, it is the leading capitalist power in the world today. Like Britain in the heyday of its imperial power, the United States is, and rightly so, adopting a conception of dual mandate in its relations with the developing world. This dual mandate, if properly applied, could enable the United States to increase its own prosperity and at the same time assist in increasing the prosperity of the developing countries.

Popular Resistance to Elite Control

- Can't fight on equal footing: need creative forms of resistance (Gandhi)
- Importance of legitimacy: claim to hark back to cultural heritage
- Melding of economics & culture to achieve political goals
- When elites are split, chances for success are much greater



Cuba, 1959: Castro & supporters

- US initially did not back his opponents

Mexican Muralists



Siqueiros, 1957-65: "From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz to the Revolution"



Native Culture & Religion

Mayan ceremony on the steps of a Catholic church, Mexico.

Resistance to NAFTA (1994)



- Lead up to NAFTA's implementation in Mexico begins with President Salinas in 1988
- Reform of Article 27 (land back to indigenous groups)

Globalization:

- **Global interaction between:** people, governments, companies, and nations
- **Aspects:**
 - Economic (which & how goods are produced & distributed)
 - Environmental (natural resources, habitability)
 - Cultural (how people live their lives)
 - Political (which elites are supported)
 - Technological (communication & transportation Infrastructure)